

The Second and Last

English Advice,

TO THE

FREEHOULDERS

OF

ENGLAND.

*Nec vates Helenus, cum multa horrenda moneret,
Hos mihi prædixit luctus, non dira Celæno.*

L O N D O N:

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English Advice

Gentlemen,

YOU have now, for Seven Years and more, been in a State of Minority, under the Regency of a Foreign Prince and Family; and you have been used, (as commonly Minors are, especially by Step-Fathers) one while Scourged, sometimes Cajoled, always Cheated. The Court, assisted by the Lords and Commons, got you into their Hands and were resolved to make the most of you; which they have accordingly done, to their great increase of Wealth, and your infinite Loss, if not Ruine. All which was natural, and to have been expected from such a Court. Neither is there any thing wonderful in the Conduct of the two Houses, for which many things may be said that may deserve your notice and consideration.

The House of Lords, it is true, ought to have remembred and emulated the Virtue of their Ancestors, in opposing all Encroachments of the Crown upon the Liberty of the Subject: They ought to have maintained those Privileges, which the *Barons* purchased at so great expence of Blood, when they procured for Us the Charter of *Magna Charta*. This they ought to have done, but instead of it, they have shamefully given up some of the most valuable of those Privileges; and their excuse for so doing is at hand. The present Bench of Bishops is chiefly adorned with such *Children of this World*, as know very little, but the value of Preferments; and who most of them have been advanced by the Court, solely for their eminent want of Merit. No wonder therefore, if they observe great Complaisance to their Benefactors, and more to those, who may give them richer Bishopricks; especially since they are restrained by no scruples of Conscience, which being very Incommodious, and likewise Unfashionable in this Age, they kindly leave to their Brethren of an inferiour Rank.

By the Union, the poor unhappy Kingdom of *Scotland* can send but Sixteen Peers to Parliament; who hitherto (one excepted) have been wholly at the devotion of the Ministers, and kept in regular Pay; which made Mr. *Craggs*, late Secretary of State, a very good Judge of this Affair, complain to the House of Commons, that the *Scotch* Peers have really cost the Crown in Elections and Pensions, as much as their Votes were worth.

Of the Hereditary *English* Peers, about Thirty have been made by His Majesty King *George*, many of them are but Sons of the Earth, and of Yesterday, and therefore may think themselves bound to be Subservient to the Court for all uses, altho'

never so bad. An equal Number, or thereabouts, have been lifted from lower to higher Forms and Titles, and not fewer modestly speaking, are but the Nominal descendents of our Ancient Nobles, and ought to seek for their Fore-Fathers, by the Male or Female Line among the Lees and Dregs of the People, So that if you compute such a Number of *Scotch* Lords, Court Bishops, Thirty new made Peers, together with as many promoted, you may easily account, for the Majority in the House of Lords, almost without including Pensioners, Place-men and the Bastards.

From the House of Commons, in appearance you had reason to hope for Justice at least, if not for favour. They were or ought to have been your own Creatures, tender of your Rights, frugal of your Purse, your chosen *Guardians*. But unfortunately they were not your Choice. Many of them were unduly returned by Officers made by the Court for this very purpose. By Petitions of the House of Commons many of them got into it, and turned out those whom you had Elected. For, the *Committee of Elections*, of which Mr. Hampden was *Chair-man*, never considered your Votes, but without regard of the Number of Voices at the Election, decided the case in favour of the Man most fit for their Purposes. By which notorious Partiality of him, and his *Committee*, by false Returns, by avowed Bribery, and the whole Strain'd power of the Crown, the last House of Commons Sate to do Mischief; but could no more be called your Representatives, than a Gang of Highway-men that should get Possession of *St. Stephen's Chappel*, and be acknowledged by the Court and House of Lords, to be as worthy Gentlemen as themselves.

As to the Court, there have been many Changes in that Region among the great Officers, during these Seven Years last past. Some have been in Favour, and Disgraced, and received a Second time into Favour, and a Second time Discarded. But still the gross of the Court hath been the same, and their Actions Uniform. At one time it was *Mademoiselle Schullenberg*, and the Duke of *Marlborough*, with *Walpole*, *Townshend* and *Stanbope*: at another, it was the Dutchess of *Munster*, *Walpole* and *Townshend*: at another it was the Dutchess of *Kendall*, Lord *Sunderland*, *Craggs* and *Stanbope*; then the Dutchess with Lord *Sunderland*, *Walpole* and *Townshend*; and who will come next, Lord knows. Thus though the Flying Parties and Wings varied now and then, the Main, the gross Corps of the Court continued still the same, and their Conduct was always of the same nature.

In Speaking of the Court I wholly exclude the Duke of *Kent*, Lord *de Lavar* and such little Insects, who implicitly follow the Dictates of their Leaders, and betray their Country, for a Pension, a Place, or perhaps a Feather; these I exclude for the same reason that I do the Footmen who go behind the State-Coaches;

or the Ladies, who dangle after a Court they do not want. It is the Duty of the former, who wear the Court-Livery to attend; and it is a Weakness and Grievous Distemper in the latter, that they cannot breath out of the Air of it. I have often pitied some great Dutcheſſes of my Acquaintance, when I have ſeen them ſtraining for a *double Entender*, or Sweating for Compliments to get a Bow from *Her Grace*, or perhaps from *Ulerick* or one of the *Turks*. Such Creatures as theſe are not the Court; but, only Breed in it, as Mites and Maggots in a Rotten Cheeſe. But the Court is the Governing party there, by whole Authority, Advice, Inſinuations and other perſwaſive Arts, the *Engliſh* Intereſt hath been Sacrificed to *Foreigners*, and the *Publick* given up to the *Luſt of Dominion* in *Private* Perſons.

Of the Chief of thoſe Managers I have named ſome. But Count *Berensdorf* and Baron *Bothmar* have had and ſtill retain great influence, eſpecially in the Management of every thing that might be for the Advantage of his Maſteſty's Province in *Germany*. The former of theſe was Miniſter to the King's Father-in-Law, and by a moſt Eggregious piece of treachery recommended himſelf at *Hanover*, and is by all accounts of him, a moſt dangerous Perſon near the King, being Corrupt, Covetous and Vicious above meaſure. Baron *Bothmar* is too well known to require a particular deſcription of him. No Man living is more anſwerable than he, for all the early impreſſions made upon his Maſteſty's mind againſt the People of *England*, and for their preſent Miſfortunes. Yet he Walks about with impunity and impudence, Builds a *Seraglio* in *St. James's Park*, and is ſuffered to take into his Garden a large part of the Park, which had been, before, but too much mangled and deformed by unreaſonable Grants. Beſides theſe two, there are ſome others of the ſame Country of leſs fame, but who likewise more or leſs have promoted the pernicious Meaſures, and Counſels to which we owe our preſent Calamity, and our future melancholy proſpect.

Thus, Gentlemen, you ſee a Prince led by *Germanus*, and by Miniſters entirely *Germanized*, a proſtigate *House of Lords*, and a *House of Commons*, not duly Elected, have been the *Three Eſtates* of the Realm, by whom you have been Governed during his Maſteſty's Reign; and tho' moſt of you, with the reſt of the Nation, muſt feel the Miſchiefs brought upon you, from ſuch a wretched Union and exerciſe of Power, yet that no one may have Reaſon to complain of the unſairneſs of the foregoing Representation, it may be proper to take a ſhort veiw of the conduct of the Court ſince his Maſteſty's *Acceſſion to the Throne* the firſt of *Auguſt 1714*.

The firſt Months after the Kings *Acceſſion*, were employed in mutual Congratulations between the Royal Family and the Whigs for the Death of Queen *Anne*; the poor Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, *Teniſon*, who had not been out of his Chamber for ſome

some Years, came to Court on this occasion, and in his heavy accent cried—*God be thanked for this Glorious day.* Speeches, Libells and Addresses were encourrged and presented, full of Venomous expressions against her Majesty, *whose Heart was entirely English*; against her Ministers, who indeed deserved it, for having suffered theirs and the Nations Enemies to come into Power; against the Clergy, though the Majority of the Bishops were Whigs to their Wish; and in general against all, who had not the merit of being known Enemies to the Constitution in Church and State. In the mean while his Majesty Treated the late Queen's Friends even at first with apparent dislike, and no ordinary Marks of aversion; which became afterwards inflamed by some idle Stories unbecoming a great Prince to hear, much more to resent: And in the midst of a great deal of bile and rancour uttered against the Majority of his Subjects, Balls and Suppers went round to Entertain him, which seemed the only sort of Conversation he could Taste from so disagreeable and unpolite a People as the *English*.

It cannot be contended but that King *George* had the fairest opportunity imaginable, at his first Arrival here, to have acted an easy, a wise and a Noble part; but the Court was not the School of Wisdom, or even Decency. Joy and Malice both rudely expressed, alternately governed there. The King preserved his Gravity, which some called Sullenness. The Prince cried, *il faut les Ecrasser*, we must crush them to Pieces; and the good Princess with Jest, that might be Wit at *Hanover*, endeavoured to express her share of Hatred. The late Lord *Wharton* exulted in the success of the Faction, and used to cry—*In for Life, by God, we have got a Family to our mind*: With several other Reflexions, which the greatest Jacobites, out of pure good manners, would have avoided. But this is not the only particular, wherein his Majesty hath been scornfully Treated by his good Friends, as he thinks them. Even Mr. *Walpole*, the present Favourite and Ruler, when he was turned out some Years ago, ridiculed the King publicly in the Speaker's Chamber, before many Witnesses, and made a silly Conversation for the King, as if he could say nothing but *Bon, Common, and Diable*.

It hath been often said his Majesty and the Royal Family had reason to be averse from the Tories, who would have defeated the *Protestant Succession*. This had been told the King and he believed it, without one single proof of the truth or probability of the fact; and so took himself to have been highly injured; which led him into all the methods of revenge which his Counsellors desired to infuse into him: And which were not only contrary to common Justice, but to all sort of Policy or common sense. For, if things had been Weighed with any Temper, Equity or Policy, the King would have endeavoured to reconcile

concile Men to him, by a frank Countenance and gracious behaviour, rather than, by ill-judged expressions of resentment, confirm the mistaken part of his Subjects in their prejudices against him. There had been Sense and Magnanimity, if not inclination, in such Conduct; whereas the contrary could appear only the effect of a littleness of Mind, of Pride, Weakness or of something worse.

But besides at his first Entrance, through the City of *London*, he might have been convinced with his own Eyes and Ears, that it could not be the fault of his Subjects, if he did not Reign in their Hearts. What have those Men to answer for, who have robbed him and us of that Blessing, and who have contrived to manage so, that according to their own Computation, Nineteen parts in Twenty of the Nation are in the Interest of his Competitor!

But it is in vain to Reason upon that fundamental Error. The Peace and happiness of the Kingdom were not the desire of the Court. Some vowed and breathed Vengeance: Others wanted opportunities to feed their Avarice. The power of the Crown was exerted with Violence, and stretched beyond all bounds. I am told my Lord *Marlborough* desired at first only a *Restoration*, that the Whigs, who had been in Employment, might be restored to the Places they had lost in the Queen's time upon the Change of the Ministry. But conquest suited the Views of the *Germans*, and of *Townshend* and *Walpole*; in which his Grace easily acquiesced, as being a method whereby he might the better find his Account: And this was the best Reason I have heard given, why the King would not meet the Parliament the Queen left; left by such a meeting there might be a sort of acknowledgement of that Power, which had been *Usurped* by the *Queen* from the Whigs for the four last Years of her Reign: And for which the Court never could forgive her or any of those who were much in her Favour; not even the Duke of *Somerset*, because he really was instrumental in that Change.

Among a thousand instances of their bitterness against her and those who were thought to be in her Interest, there were two, which are the more Remarkable, as being otherwise of no great consequence. One was, that Colonel *Chudleigh* was advanced to be Governor of *Chelsea-Collage*, for having Murdered Mr. *Aldworth*, Member of Parliament for *Windsor*, only because he presumed to appear at *St. James's*. I call it Murder: For, though it was pretended to be in a Duell, yet Mr. *Aldworth* had not the use of his Arms, and could only stand to be Stabbed; which *Chudleigh* took the advantage of, and was therefore looked upon at Court, as a Champion, fit for their purpose.

The other particular was; the Queen left no Will that was signed in form: But to One, which she was resolved to perfect,

left, she left a Postscript in her own Hand writing, that 2000*l.* should be given to her Lord Almoner, for the relief of the Poorer sort of the poor People; yet her Lord Almoner, the late worthy Bishop of Bristol, could never get a Shilling of that Sum, although he importunately Solicited for it. This Sum was such a Trifle, considering how much the Queen left, that was seized for King George's use, that the refusal of it could not proceed from parcimony, but rather a dislike to every thing which the Queen seemed to desire or Wish. The Indigence indeed of that craving multitude, which flocked hither after the King might be supposed at first to leave no Room for Charities. But besides, that to give is not the faculty of some Persons, ample provision was made for those ill favoured, tho' not ~~Leandethed~~ Kine another way; a little Fellow, one Robbeton, having soon grown very considerable, by being the Channel through whom all Bribes were conveyed to the Minions: Therefore I rather impute this Sacrilegious Thrift to the cause already assigned. I remember Mr. Walpole, speaking of this Robbeton once in the House of Commons, said, he was a little pitiful Fellow not fit for a Gentleman to converse with. But he hath since changed his note, and not only thinks him fit for a Gentleman to converse with, but pays very great court and homage to him: So differently do Objects appear to Mr. Walpole in Favour, to what they did When he happened to be out of Employment.

At the same time that his Majesty was advised to Act in such a partial and unkindly Manner, all Indignities were cast upon the Church. Dissenters of all sorts Countenanced; professed Deists and Hereticks made the Favourites of St. James's; the Clergy ordered what Doctrines to teach, and Church-Preferments disposed of to Men, who were most noted for their dislike of her Principles and Discipline; and, as if it were out of meer Gayety and Wantonness, nothing was omitted to irritate the People; in which general Distemperature the Parliament was dissolved, without thanks or ceremony, by Proclamation on the 11th of January, 1715.

On the 15th of the same Month came out the Proclamation for calling a new Parliament. In this Proclamation the King takes notice of the Remarkable Steps of Providence to bring him in safety to the Crown, notwithstanding the designs of evil Men, who swore themselves Disaffection to his Succession, and who with the utmost degree of Malice, &c. Observe the Strain of this whole extraordinary Performance; a mixture of Rancour and Falshood is here uttered by Royal Authority, and given under the Kings Hand. Here is a Libel published against much the greater and better part of the King's Subjects, and published in his Name. The intent is to involve all, who might not be Subservient to the Court-Schemes in a general Slander; and before any of those accused could be heard, his Majesty gave his Royal Word for it,

it, that they were all Traitors. This is the Sense of the *Proclamation*, and at that time I am sure all Men (unless perhaps you may except the King himself) understood it to be so.

But neither is this enough; in order to fix the Calumny of *Mis-application of Publick Money* upon the *Queen* and her Friends, the *Proclamation* further takes notice, that the *King* thinks fit in Justice to himself to Signify to his whole Kingdom, that he was much **Concerned** to find on his *Accession to the Crown*, the *Publick Affairs* in the greatest difficulties, as well in respect of our Trade and the interruption of our Navigation, as of the great Debts which were very much increased since the Conclusion of the last War. Had this been true, it was wholly out of form to take notice of it in this manner. It was moreover exceedingly unjust in his Ministers and that party, who were the original contrivers, and constant encouragers of the Project to Mortgage the Funds; and besides they had the least Reason of all People to mention those Difficulties: For the Difficulties, if such there were, were the effect of the Obstructions thrown in against the Peace; And those Men and even his Majesty (as appears by *Bothmar's Memorial*) obstructed it all they could, and gave the Enemy the Advantages he could not possibly have had, but by their Assistance. This they have been told a thousand times over, and know it to be true, and yet have as often returned to the charge to *Blacken the Queen's Administration*.

How much his Majesty was *Concerned* on this Occasion, I cannot pretend to guess: But if he had Reason then to be *Concerned* at the *Encrease of our Debts*, he hath cause sufficient now to weep his Eyes out. The little Finger of his Ministers hath been heavier than the Loins and Carcasses of all their Predecessors. They have not only added ten Millions more to our Debts, but by their *Wicked Schemes* and *Projects* have rendered us far less able, than we were, to Pay any share or particle thereof. Their Predecessors loaded us sufficiently: but they have broke our Backs, and our Hearts into the bargain. Such is the case of the Publick. But who can tell the infinite number of flourishing Families reduced by the present *Administration* to Starve or Beg? The many Instances of this kind that we hourly see, may at least prove us to be a People, neither Revengeful nor Bloody, since the Authors of our Miseries are suffered, not only to live, but live in Grandeur and with Power, and enjoy their Plunder in the Face of the many innocent Families, they have Ruined.

But least the Sense, however plain, of the *Proclamation*, should not be fully understood, directions are in it given by the King, *what Persons are to be chosen Representatives*, viz. *Such as shewed a firmness to the Protestant Succession when it was most in Danger*. And here the Mystery is out: This is the *Freedom of Elections*, which was mentioned a little before;

as if on purpose to shew the Inconsistence with what was to follow. This was such a *Breach* of that *Freedom*, as we have but one Precedent for, since the Reign of *Richard the Second*, as weak a Prince almost as ever sat upon the Throne. The Usurper *Henry IV.* indeed issued out very extraordinary directions; and accordingly such a Parliament was chosen, as hath ever since been Branded with the Title of *Parliamentum indoctorum*; as our late one may justly lay claim to that of the *Corrupt Parliament*.

By this manner of Dictating to the People whom to Choose; by the whole strength of the Court and Treasury; together with undue Returns and very foul play, the Court got what they wanted; a House of Commons, who might properly be said to be above all Scandal, because there is no reproach bad enough to reach them fully; and that though there were terms to be found equal to their Merit, yet they were such hardened Prostitutes, not to Blush at the names of their Trade and Function. They likewise knew that the less shame they had, the more acceptable they would be to their Masters.

At the meeting of the Parliament the Lord *Chancellor* read in the King's Name to both Houses a most Gracious Speech, as it was called, which was understood to be the Foundation of their future Proceedings, and such it proved, to the great Damage both of King and Kingdom.

Herein his Majesty begins, according to Custom with the *Practices to defeat his Succession*. He observes the *Increase of the Publick Debts under the late Administration*, the *neglect of Trade and Manufactures*, and the *fatal Cessation of Arms*. He desires a Supply for the current Service, and hath these Remarkable Words—*Since it is my happiness, as I am confident you think it yours, to see a Prince of Wales, &c. This must Occasion an Expence—such as surely no Man will Grudge—the Conclusion is—I doubt not but with your Assistance, I shall be able to disappoint the designs of those Men, who would deprive me of that Blessing which I most Value, the Affection of my People.*

These last Words ought to have been Written in Letters of Gold, if any measures had been pursued to make them good. But as yet we find, that as that particular was mentioned only in the Conclusion, so in order of time it was judged to be the last thing fit to be considered of. *Rusticus expectat dum defluat annis, at ille Labitur et labetur in omne volubilis ævum.*

The demand of Money was to be expected of Course not only for the Publick Service, and for the Prince of Wales's Family; but many other Occasions there were for that call, and all too little considering these are Blessings of such a Nature, as cannot be too dearly Bought. But the complaints
herein

herein made, and which were the grounds of the Succeeding Impeachments, were very unlikely to beget to the King that *Blessing* he so much *Values*, the *Affection of his People*. On the contrary it afforded his Enemies a pretence to say, that the Speech contain'd but two modest Requests; *viz. English Blood and English Money*, and I am sorry the Event hath given so good Colour to their Interpretation.

It is not my Business to defend the Conduct of the Queen's Ministers, though I believe, all things considered, they had Faults, but not Crimes; and in respect of their Successors, they were Angels. But whether they were Guilty or not, was it King George's Interest to disturb the beginning of his Reign, by unnecessary Enquiries into past Miscarriages? What could he have desired more? Was not he here, Safe, at Ease, in Fulness and sufficiently enabled to Enrich his Favourites? Where then could be the sense or end of his suggesting to the Parliament to rake into obsolete Affairs, to rip open old Wounds, nay, and to do this at his own Peril, and against the bent of the People?

Henry the VIII. it is true in the beginning of his Reign, fell upon the Instruments employed by his Father, and brought them to due Punishment. But *Empson* and *Dudley* had been Tax-Gatherers, Oppressors, Plunderers, the Tools of his Father's Avarice and Injustice, and Odious to the Nation; so that the Son recommended himself, at his first Setting out, by Sacrificing his Father's Ministers to the Publick Rage. But in the Case before us, the nature of the thing is altogether different, and the Consequences have answered accordingly. Those Men indeed who have so fatally misled his present Majesty, may perhaps Live to be in *Empson's* and *Dudley's* Circumstances, as necessarily fall, and fall as unpitied.

I know it is said by some, that his Majesty is by no means to be censured for what hath been done amiss; that he was purely Passive; that he left those Matters to the Parliament, and thought they knew best what was proper to be done, and that if any Persons were to be found fault with, it was his *Council*. To all this I should be glad to Assent, and to Vindicate his Majesty as far as any one. But others may urge the point home and ask, why did his Majesty lead the way in the Prosecution? Why point out the Heads of the following Impeachments? Why Countenance only the hottest, and most Violent of the Party? You will say, the *English* Ministers advised him to this. Allow it: but this is to make a Compliment to his Intentions, at the Expence of his Understanding. Grant there was all the reason in the World for his changing the Queen's Ministry: admit, the Men he Chose seem'd to be the great Supporters of the *Hannover* Succession, and that in Gratitude, as well as Prudence, he ought to have made them his Ministers. Yet it is very strange, that they should continue in Favour, or lose

Ground in proportion to their Violence; and that as soon as any one of them began to slacken in his Fury, that Moment he became less in Esteem: as was the Case of several, particularly, of Lord *Hallifax*, who was first *Lord of the Treasury*, and had as much Merit to the King, as any Man of that Side; yet he was to have been turned out, if he had Lived; only because he was against the Impeachments. It is true he was guilty of another Crime, for he refused to pass an exorbitant Grant to Lord *Marlborough* of 45000*l.* which might be some addition to his other Misdemeanour; but his Lordship's Capital Offence was *Moderation*; the *Moderation* of a Man, who had been most forward in all the Violences committed since the Revolution.

In fact it must be confessed, that the whole Royal Family where vehemently bent upon the Impeachments. How they came to be so, is another Question; which signifies not much, whether you impute it to their Ignorance of our Laws and Customs, to the natural inclemency of their Country, to the Prevalency of the Duke of *Marlborough's* Genius and his Wife's Haughtiness, to the impatient Temper of Mr. *Stanhope*, the Brutality of *Townshend*, the corrupt Nature of *Walpole*, the Inhumanity of *Cadogan*, the Grand-son of a *Regicide*, or to the general Complexion of an unjust Court and abandoned Party. Let one, or all of these be the true Cause, the Matter is still the same and not to be Controverted. For, there was nothing at that time more frequent in the Princess's Mouth, as she has a peculiar Talent at talking decently, than to ask in the publick drawing Room, *how the Impeachments went on?* and she would frequently Complain of the *Slowness of the Parliamentary Proceedings in that good Business.*

Pursuant to the King's Speech, the Commons fell very Briskly upon the Examination of the past Conduct of the Queen's Ministry. For which purpose they nominated a *Committee of Secrecy*, all of them at that time thought *Whig*ers, as Mr. *Walpole*, Chair-man of the *Committee*, calls himself; by which he means Men, who will go through with any Work, be it never so Wicked. In some of these indeed he found himself Mistaken, but for the most part he was in the Right, and they were fit Tools for that Service, which is the worst thing can be said of them; and indeed they acted their Parts so well to the Satisfaction of the Court, that, for that and other Deserts, I think no less than Seven or Eight of them have been since made Lords.

By this time the Country plainly saw and abhorred what the Court drove at. They were now confirmed in Opinion that there was no Safety for a Churchman, and unjustly imputed these Violences to the power of the Dissenters, whose Meeting-houses, they imagined were to Supplant our Churches, or that the Churches might be given to the Kirk here

as well as in *Scotland*. Upon which ensued those disorderly Insurrections in *Staffordshire*, and elsewhere that afforded the Court a handle for their *Bill of Riots*. So that though I do not join in Opinion with those, who think the Court contrived those Ruffles on purpose; yet they were certainly glad of them, as they procured a Pretext for that *Bill*, and for other Violations of our Liberties. In that there are several particulars, which strike at the Freedom of the Subject, and among others there is one Clause, that a Man may be prosecuted for a Riot, even a Twelve Month after the fact pretended to be Committed. Which, besides that it gives the Crown a dangerous Power, is a terrible Weapon put into the Hands of Malicious Knaves, against any Neighbour to whom they have a Spight.

When the *Committee of Secrecy* were ripe with their Report, they got it twice read in the House. It was a Voluminous heavy Charge against many Persons of the first Rank, and therefore it was proposed by the other side to put off the Consideration of it to a time limited, and no long one neither, within which Gentlemen might weigh the Matters therein Contained. But this was thought by the Court an unreasonable delay, and it was carried with a high Hand to proceed Instantly to the Work; which some *longing* Persons had so much set their Hearts upon, that it might have caused a Miscarriage, and the loss perhaps of a *German Prince*, if the Affair had been suffered to cool.

The Report contained an inaccurate perplexed accusation of the *Queen*, the Duke of *Ormonde*, the Earl of *Oxford*, the Earl of *Strafford*, the Lord Viscount *Bolingbroke*, Lord *Harcourt*, *Arthur Moore* and some others. The *Queen*, happily for her self, but to our great Sorrow, was in a better Place, than on her Throne. The Duke of *Ormonde* was accused for Obeying her Majesty and bringing home with him an *Olive-Branch* instead of *Lawrels*, which he might have reaped as easily, as his Predecessor in the Command of the Army. But though he hath as keen an Appetite for Glory, as the other had for Money, yet he preferred the good of his Country to his own natural desires, for which he had the *Queen's* thanks and the Approbation of the Kingdom. The Earl of *Oxford* had managed so, to be well with neither side, yet few or none suspected him guilty of Treason, and all Men allowed he went out of the Treasury with clean Hands, which none of the best of his Successors in that Station can say of themselves; and we may say of some of them that the Nation had been many Millions the Richer, and they many hundred thousand Pounds the Poorer, if they had proved just such Traitors as the Earl of *Oxford*. The Earl of *Strafford* had offended the *Dutch* by Sustaining the Character of her *Britanick*

tanick Majesty's Ambassador, and the Dignity of the *Imperial Crown of England*. This the *Dutch* took ill: For, ever since the *Revolution*, they had been taught to believe, we ought to receive Laws from the *high and mighty States*: And King *George's* Ministers thought it a Crime in my Lord *Strafford* to dispute their Commands. My Lord Viscount *Bolingbroke* was supposed, to have been at least as Active as any of the rest in concluding the Peace, against which his Majesty, when Elector, sent a Memorial to the Queen which was presented and Printed, in order to raise a Sedition here. His Lordship, it was thought, had early notice of the Attack intended against him, so wisely provided for his safety before he was Accused; which was the Reason that when he was Impeached, the Struggle was not Great.

The Earl of *Oxford* was next Accused of High Treason, and other High Crimes and Misdemeanours. But his Lordship had that dextrous way of puzzling Men even in ordinary Affairs, that it was not strange, that there was less shew of Reason to offer against him to prove him Guilty, even in the Court-way of thinking, than against any of the rest. Yet the Torrent carried it: They hated him inveterately, and observed no Rules of Justice. So the Impeachment was Voted by a great Majority, and he stood the Shock with remarkable intrepidity. I was present in the House of Lords, when he was ordered to the *Tower*. He was then in a bad State of Health, which was increased by his attending that very long Debate, at the latter End of which he made a short, but Pathetick Speech: And I know not which moved me most, whether, Concern at seeing an *English* Nobleman fall a Sacrifice to the Rage of *Foreigners*, or Indignation to Behold the *Heir apparent* to the Crown affect to come near his Lordship, Stare and Laugh him in the Face, whilst he was Speaking in behalf of his *deceased Sovereign*, and defending his own Life, and the Liberties of the Peers of *England*.

The Earl of *Strafford* was only accused of High Crimes and Misdemeanours, which not taking away his Right to set in the House, did him this Service, that it sufficiently shewed he was in no degree of Favour with the Managers: But that if they had known how to have vented their Spight to purpose against him, they would have done it otherwise than in impotent Harangues, which they were full of, and which he heartily Contemned.

Lord *Harcourt* and Mr. *Arthur Moore* were threatned; but paid only their Fears as a Fine for their Faults. Since which time sufficient Attonement hath been made them, and they are not only admitted into an *Act of Grace*, but otherwise thought Proper Candidates for Favour.

As to the Duke of *Ormonde*, he never affected any Character but that of an Honest, Steddy, Lover of his Country; to which he had a kind of *Hereditary Right*, his Father and Grand-Father having Eminently Signalized themselves that way. This, together with a natural Candour and affability, joined to perfect good Manners, the most generous Temper, human disposition and a clear Courage, made him generally Beloved by the People of *England*; as some of the contrary Qualities had unluckily blasted his Rival, the Duke of *Marlborough's* Reputation: Who in spite of his great Success in several Campaigns was hated by the Soldiery, whom he had Cheated, literally speaking, of their Bread and their Shirts; and by the Nation, for his Covetousness, and his unparalelled ingratitude to King *James* and Queen *Anne*: to which unpopularity perhaps that Insolence of his Dutchess contributed not a little. For this Reason the Duke of *Ormonde* became the Object of his Envy and Hatred, which were not otherwise to be appeased than by Death; therefore his Grace's Life was struck at by the *Marlborough* Faction, and King *George* was by some incidents brought in as a party in the Quarrel. Mr. *Stanhope*, then Secretary of State, though personally obliged to the Duke of *Ormonde*, Impeached his Grace, and fairly told the House in one of his unguarded Sallies of Fury, that the *Question was not whether the Duke of Ormonde was Guilty or not of the Crimes objected to him, but whether King George should keep his Crown, or the Duke of Ormonde fall.* After this and some other notices, it was plain all foul play was to be expected; so his Grace had no part to Act, but to retire to some Country, where the Notions of Justice and Honour might not be utterly extinguished. But it is to be observed he did not go off, until the very day when the *Habeas Corpus* Act was suspended, and that he knew, he was actually to have been Seized.

Soon after this Persecution of those Noblemen, and from this, among other Violencies, followed the Rebellion; which, if Providence had not interposed at that Time, must have ended in the Expulsion, if not Extermination of the *Illustrious House*. It was owned on all hands, that the Hearts of the People were turned against them; in which case, if *Lewis XIV.* had lived, if the Duke of *Ormonde* could have landed in the *West* or *Lancashire*, or if those Unfortunate Gentlemen at *Preston* had had one tolerable Officer to Command them, there can be no Question, but his Majesty would have been deprived of his Crown at least. To such a happy Situation did his Ministers and Advisers reduce him and the Kingdom; and all this, within the short space of Twelve Months, from the most perfect Tranquility that had been seen, for many Years.

Whoever

Whoever pretends to say, that the *Rebellious Spirit* was raised by the *Jacobites*, and by the Measures taken in the late *Queen's Reign*, manifestly Speaks against the Truth. That *Miracle* was brought about by the Violence of the Court. Men could not Live, and tamely see themselves and their Friends Spurned every Hour, and their Blood pursued by a handful of Uppstarts, or a parcel of furious Incendiaries. And to see that that Family, which we had Chosen for our *Protectors*, should begin or Join in the Prosecution, raised the Resentment of most Men.

Notwithstanding all past Successes, the silent manner where-with the King now Travels through our Streets, may put him in mind of the fall from those Acclamations, which at first attended him: and the publick Affronts he and his Family have met with at *Plays, Operas*, and their Favourite Entertainments, *Masquerades*, cannot but give him some grating Reflexions. The Change cannot surely be imputed to the Fickleness of our Temper: for, the longer the Queen lived, the more Popular she Grew; neither to the Artifices of the *Jacobites*, otherwise they must be allowed to have more dexterous and Politick Conducters than the Ministry; which no doubt the Ministers will never assent to. The Truth is and cannot be denied, the Disaffection grew and encreased by the same means; by the Partiality, Violence, Weakness, Self-interested Views, and Senseless Rage of the Court, which made most Men conclude, though unjustly I must own, that his Majesty either from his own Inclination or the Influence of others, was resolved to Treat us as a Conquered hateful People.

When the Rebellion broke forth, the Court got a plausible Pretence for raising a greater Army than was then in Pay. For, as yet they had not ventured to add to the Number, which was the Establishment at his Majesty's Accession to the Throne. Some other things there were also done; which, if they had been done with Prudence, and no Odious Circumstances, seemed reasonable enough. But the Court were heartily Frighted, and did not mind Ceremony. They had been before Angry without Cause, and now that some was given them, their Anger and Fears working together, they laid about them, like Madmen. Doleful and Passionate Complaints were made to the Parliament and to Foreign Courts. Their reputed Friends they carressed with fulsome Fondness. Against their supposed Enemies they thought all Weapons Lawful, and no Rigour great enough: and so things went on still, from bad to worse.

It is not my Intention to Write the History of the Rebellion. It was rashly entered into, weakly sustained, and some Accidents happened to Suppress it, much more Effectual, than the Wisdom, Activity, Conduct, Resolution, or Spirit of the Ministers, or Military Commanders. *Carpenter* might easily have been

been Crushed at *Dumfries*. *Wills* according to all Rules of War, made a blundering Disposition at *Preston*, was repulsed and might have been Cut to Pieces. The *Scotch* Army under Lord *Mar* had not two Barrels of Powder left, after the Battle of *Dumblain*. From the beginning they had but Five Barrels; procured from *Edenburgh*, but never got a Pound from *France*, *Holland*, or any other Country; so were in no condition to resist the 6000 *Dutch* Troops, that *Cadogan* brought to the Army at *Sterling*, which was then under the Duke of *Argyle*. So that if his Majesty had not owed more to some odd accidents, than to the provision of his Ministry, he might have been Obligated to get into the first Yatch that should have offered, and to leave his Ministers, *gentem male fidam*, to their incensed Enemies.

But it hath pleased Providence to continue to us the Blessing of his Majesty's Reign. The Rebellion was quickly at an End; and here again was another fair field for his Majesty to have displayed his Wisdom and Lenity; which undoubtedly would have regained him the affections of his People. But neither was this, now, thought proper. The same Spirit, that possessed the Court before and at the time of the Rebellion, remained afterwards; and as if it had gained new strength by the slight apposition made to it, it raged and foamed the more. Of this I shall produce some Instances.

A great many Noblemen and Gentlemen; several of them Members of Parliament, were Seized by Warrants from the Secretary of State and committed to the *Tower*, *Newgate*, and the Hands of *Messengers*; where they were treated inhumanly by the Vermin, usually employed on such Occasions. The frequency of the thing prevented all Wonder at it: And it was on all Hands agreed that nothing worse could have happened to any Man at that Juncture, than to be *delivered over to the Power* of Lord *Townshend*; who, in Reasoning, Civility, Compassion, good nature and polite Language, seemed Industriouslly to vye with the *Bayliffs*, *Keepers* and *Turnkeys* belonging to those places, to which his Lordship committed all whom he could lay his Hands upon.

Nor was there any reasonable proof, or Accusation required to Justifie such Proceedings. Informations of little Spies, or meer Conjectures, or personal Picques were sufficient: And all this the Parliament enabled the Court to do, by having Suspend- ed the *Habeas Corpus* Act; which I take to be so Fundamental a Subversion of the Liberties of the People, that I believe there cannot possibly be any one Case put, that should make an honest Man consent to the Suspension of that Act, even for an Hour. But when the Majority of the Parliament were but the *Janisaries* of the Court, their conduct is the less liable to censure and Animadversion.

In the Management of Spies, the Ministers especially *Townshend* and his Grace the Duke of *Marlborough*, submitted to baser and Lower methods than have commonly been put in Practice by the dealers in Subornation of Perjury; and in this sort of Traffick his Grace of *Marlborough* went as deep as ever *Oates* or *Bedloe*, if they had been Living, could have devised. I could mention several particulars of this kind, three of which affected a Lady of great Quality, and otherwise loaded with Misfortunes. But his Rancor to her Family is notorious enough. Perhaps his design against a Reverend Prelate is not so well known. His Grace sent Mr. *Craggs* Junior to *Dunstable* to meet the *Preston*-prisoners, and to promise Life and Reward to Mr. *Forster* provided he would Accuse the Bishop of—. Of this, Mr. *Forster*, who in reality was a Stranger to the Bishop, sent his Lordship notice; and when long after, Mr. *Craggs* was Taxed with this Attempt, he excused himself by saying he was a *Soldier of fortune*, a young Fellow to make his way in the World, that he undertook the Office with the greatest Reluctance, but that my Lord *Marlborough* absolutely forced him to it. There are three or four Persons now Living and one of them of the same Party which Mr. *Craggs* was of, who were present, when this frank Confession was made; which at least may shew, that as dear as the *Illustrious House* may be to us, the methods used to preserve it were not the fairest, and most candid in the World.

Troops were sent into several parts of the Country, rather to Insult the Gentlemen and Inhabitants, than for any real service to the Crown. Particularly at *Bath*, a scurvy Fellow, one *Humbrey Gore* was commanded to Seize some Persons, who perhaps might have been justly suspected; but in the Execution of his Order, he used great Insolencies to several Ladies of Quality, and in general to all Ranks of People; insomuch that it is Remarkable, that in an Age and Season when Brutality was a common Evil, this Man should be taken notice of, for his peculiar Excellence that way. But his behaviour the more amply recommended him to those, who employed him: And that was his chief Aim, and besides suited the bent of his Nature.

The City of *Oxford* was made a Garrison, where *Handyside*, and others of their infernal Officers, repeated publickly in the Taverns *Blasphemous Prayers* and *Songs of Ribaldry*, in ridicule of the *Liturgy* and the *Psalms*, used in the Churches. What admirable Disciples was the Nation to expect, if those Worthy Gentlemen had continued to be our Teachers and Doctors! And yet I am perswaded, there are some Right Reverend Persons of great Names, who would at any time freely give their Votes, to Restore these Apostles to their former Seat and Function.

It would be endless to enumerate all the passages of this and the like Nature. I write only upon Memory: But the Observation

vation of most Readers may Furnish them with several Particulars, that may escape my Notice or Remembrance.

Among other wrong things, then Committed, the Camp in *Hyde-Park* gave very great and just Offence, and an handle to the ill natured to say, it was a Representation of the Inns in the upper parts of *Germany*, where the *Hogs* and *Oxen* lie at one end, and the *Masters* at the other. But the real Evil was, it argued a diffidence of the People, and some degree of Cowardice: It was making the Court a Citadal to awe and subdue the City of *London*, and raised a kind of Indignation and Contempt, which had better be forgot than described.

But the Apprehension the Court was in, that they were not safe without a Camp to Protect them, was followed by a much worse Precedent, by the Importation of 6000 *Dutch Troops*; for which there could not be one tolerable Excuse, unless excess of Fears; and as Fear generally makes People run into Danger, this might have made all the *English Army Mutiny*, only that at that time they hoped, when the Convulsion was over, the King would become an *Englishman*. How well their hopes were grounded, the Sequel hath proved. But, surely the bringing over those Troops was an infamous step. When King *James II.* was threatned with an Invasion from *Holland*, to be made by the Prince of *Orange*, and that the *French King* sent Notice of the Attempt and a proffer of an Army of *Frenchmen* to secure him, his Majesty generously disdained to accept of those Auxiliaries, and said, *it was unbecoming a King of England to owe his security to a Foreign Power.* You will Say, it had been better for him, if he had accepted of that Proffer: I question that much, though I own it could not have been Worse. But certainly his way should have been to have thrown himself upon a *Free Parliament*, which was a natural remedy, rather than poorly to beg or take the Assistance of Foreign Troops, or search for an *Asylum* in a Strange Country. But whether his Resolution were Wise or not, surely it argued great Love of his People: And in King *George* the contrary appeared an unnecessary distrust of the *English*; and in his Ministers it ought to have been interpreted High Treason to set so dangerous an Example towards the Conquest and Subjection of their Country. The Person who conducted the Embarkation of those Troops and soon after came over was *Macartney*, the Murtherer of Duke *Hamilton*, and then actually under Sentence of Condemnation. And this was another Circumstance not agreeable to the People; who thought it looked ill, that every thing that was done, under pretence of preserving the *Hannover Succession*, should be Executed by the greatest Scelerats of the Kingdom.

Macartney was, indeed, afterwards acquitted. But all Men knew the *Fury* was *Packed*, and my Lord Chief Justice *Parker* was the Judge.

When those unfortunate Gentlemen at *Preston* had Surrendered themselves Prisoners, upon the magnificent promises of Mercy, and the Character of Lenity, which *Wills* and *Carpenter* assured them of, the first sign of Mercy was to Shoot four Gentlemen upon the Spot as Deserters; which was done by expresse Orders from *St. James's*, and was in reality the greatest instance of Lenity in those times. After this the Gentlemen of less note, were Committed to several neighbouring Dungeons, and the Noblemen and other Commanders were brought up in Triumph, ignominiously ~~Pinioned~~, and all Sorts of Insults encouraged to be offered them, on the Road, until they were releived from such publick Indignities, by being comfortably Lodged in the *Tower*, *Newgate*, and the other Goals about *London*.

During the few Months of the Rebellion, the Parliament was Prorogued but met on the 9th of *January* 17 $\frac{1}{2}$ when his Majesty made a Speech to both Houses in the same Strain, Style, and Spirit, with that first Memorable one, which led the way to the Impeachments; only with this difference, that in this latter Speech he Speaks outright, and demands *returns of Severity*, in plain *English*; though as he further saith, he *desired to have distinguished his Reign with the fair and endearing marks of Clemency*. That is, he designs to make *returns of Severity*, because People had been Faulty; but if no Faults had been Committed, then he would have *Distinguished his Reign by the fair and endearing marks of Clemency*. Or which is much the same thing, he would have been very Gracious and Merciful if there had been no Persons who stood in need of it; but because there are Persons who want his *Clemency*, therefore he thinks himself bound to *Indispensible returns of Severity*. Such Royal Language hath his Majesty been Taught to speak by his wise and able Ministers.

This Speech had its full Effect, and a Flood-gate was opened to all sort of Injustice and Cruelties, from party Revenge and the reigning, intemperate pursuit of Favour at Court. Hereupon followed new Impeachments to prevent the ordinary course of Law, which perhaps might have saved some, or retarded the Execution of others; neither of which suited the inclinations of the Court. Lords were Condemned, and it was resolved to Execute Six of them without hesitation or delay, Sentence having passed on them the 9th, and an order Signed for their Execution the 18th of *February*. As for the Earl of *Wintown*, who was thought a Fool, he had Wisely thought fit not to depend upon the *Mercy* of the Court nor to *Plead Guilty*; and this hindred his being in the Number of the Proscribed, who were to suffer immediate Death. However, exclusive of him, the Six others would have made a very *decent Execution*, and have been an agreeable Subject of Entertainment at the *Balls*, the *Levee's*, and the *Drawing Rooms*.

But

But unluckily, a great share of their diversion they were deprived of. Some Sparks of the *English* Spirit of good Nature broke forth in the House of Lords, and a Motion was made for an *Address* to his Majesty in behalf of the Condemned Lords. This was received by the Courtiers with great dislike, and by none with so *Apparent* signs of Aversion, as by his *Royal Highness* the Prince. A long Debate ensued thereupon, and here his Lordship the Earl of *Nottingham*, once more recovered himself, and broke all Measures with the Court by appearing on the side of *Clemency*. Many others nauseated the Sanguinary Counsels then in Fashion, and the Address was carried by a Majority of Twelve, though his *Royal Highness the Prince* sat himself at the Head of the *Minority and the Merciless*; which was such a Disgrace to himself, and to the whole *Illustrious Line*, that I can never enough deplore the ill Effects that had upon the minds of the People of *England*. To this Address a fullen Answer was returned, and to shew how little the intent of the Address was pursued, three of the Six were ordered for Execution on the 23d of *February*. And lest any Solicitations might be made by the Commons, where an Address of that kind was attempted, an Adjournment of the House was procured until the Work might be over. Which Adjournment was then owned by Mr. *Walpole* in the House to be for that very Reason. So, the way was plained for the intended Executions; of which the proscribed Lords had no notice until the Night before, when the Dukes of *Richmond and St. Albans*, Uncles to Lord *Derwentwater*, came to acquaint his Lordship with it, which they did with that Ease, Gaiety, Unconcern and want of all Humanity, that better Messengers could not have been possibly found out for the Purpose.

There was on this Occasion a very remarkable Circumstance which did the King great Prejudice. In one of the Publick Rooms at *St. James's*, the Lady *Kenmore*, Wife of Lord *Kenmore* to be Beheaded, threw herself at his Majesties Feet imploring Mercy for her Husband: But he spurned her from him with such signs of Aversion, and such Violence that the shock threw her flat upon the Ground; which appeared both so unbecoming in a great Prince, and so discourteous in a Gentleman, that it made very ill Impressions upon the Minds of all present, and of all who heard of it; which were not a few. My Lady *Derwentwater* had not a much better Reception, for I think the Turks shut the Door of the Kings Apartment in her Face.

Whilst the Court was thus intent on Revengeful and Bloody Measures, the Parliament passed an Act which had the Royal Assent on the 21st of January, for the further Continuance of the Suspension of the *Habeas Corpus* Act, and when Exceptions were taken to it in the House of Lords, as being wholly unnecessary, and an Amendment proposed, that cause of Commitments should be assigned, and that *Villainous* and *false* Informers might be punished,

ed, those Clauses were Rejected, how reasonable soever, and the People of *England* were still left to the Mercy and Discretion of Lord *Townsend* and his *Banditty*.

And likewise the better to enable my Lord Chief Justice *Parker* and some more of his Brethren, who were keen for Gain and Blood, to exert their Faculties and their Ardor to do Wrong, a Bill passed the 3d of *March*, Intituled *an Act for the more easy and speedy Trial of such Persons as have levied or shall Levy War against his Majesty*. To this Bill great Opposition was given in the Houses, and it was proved to be directly contrary to *Magna Charta* and an open Subversion of the *Antient and undoubted Rights of the Subject*, but all this signified nothing. *Necessity* was pretended; as if there could be any *necessity* to make all the People of *England* Slaves, which they were effectually made by the two last mentioned Acts, or as if the *Maintenance* of any one Family could be an *Equivalent* to the Nation for the Loss of their *Liberties*. But besides, the Assertion was false; there was no *necessity* for that extraordinary Act; the Rebels might have been Tried in their own Countries, or where the Crimes were committed, and enough of them would have been found Guilty to have glutted the most thirsty Wishers for Blood. But the true Reason was to put the Lives of those poor People intirely in the power of the Crown, by Diving them of their Birthright and natural Defence. Perhaps among other inducements to this Act, the Court desired to have Executions near them, and as it were in their own Sight; and to gratifie this inordinate passion, there was a *necessity* to have the Act Pass, and the Rights of the People of *England* given up in so essential a point.

But let the Motives for this Act be what they will, it gave the Judges both a Lesson and a Pretext, for very severe and oftentimes very unjust Proceedings. For example, at *Southwark*, because the Jury happened to Acquit two Gentlemen, the Judges immediately dismissed that Jury, and got another Impaneled which might answer their Ends and Views, better than the former who seemed tender of the Lives of their Countrymen. [I believe Baron *Price* might have been in that Commission; but he is always to be excepted, when we Speak or think of Unjust, Cruel, Corrupt or Court-Judges.]

When the Judges had performed their Parts, all possible Barbarities were acted in cold Blood throughout the Kingdom. Many Hundreds were kept Starving and Rotting in several Goals: many others were put to Death in such places as were chosen for proper Shambles for such Butcheries. But this is a loathsome Subject, and seemed so contrary to the Character of the King for Lenity and Justice, that a general Massacre at *Preston* had been Humanity and good Nature, compared to the slow Torture and mangling of those deluded People, who submitted

mitted to the Government, from an Imagination of that *Clemency* which had been so highly extolled to them.

It must be owned some few were Saved, but it was for them and their Families to Beg or Starve. And the Rule in this Case was, to Save none but such whose Estates being Entailed, their Lives would be an Advantage to the Government and would beggar their Families. I know there were two or three Exceptions to this, but in general the Fact was so. And this was covered over with the specious pretence that the *Forfeited Estates* should be given to the *Publick*: and an Act passed to that Purpose. But the *Publick* was to reap no Advantage from this or but very little. For, the Parliament at the same time appointed *Thirteen Commissioners to enquire of the Estates of certain Traitors, &c.* These Commissioners were *Walpole's Pack-horses*, and were each of them to have 1000*l.* a Year which was to cease when their Business was done. They were Men void of all Honour, or Compassion, Indigent for the most part or thorough Paced in Villainy, and therefore from their own Natures were inclined, or out of Self-preservation, and meerly for Bread were compelled to be Grievous to all who had the Misfortune to come before them: and so well they managed Matters, that under one pretence or other their Commission expired but with the House of Commons. So that their Salaries of 1000*l.* a Year, together with the other Expences, which amounted at least to 25000*l. per Annum*, Eat up a great part of the Profits from Forfeitures. Hereby so many more Pensioners were retained in the House, and the King was deprived in a great Measure of the Power to be truly Merciful, if he had been so disposed.

After all this a great deal more and worse, will any one pretend to wonder at the Continuance or Increase of the *Jacobite-Spirit*? With what Countenance can any Man impute it to the *Jacobites*, that the King is become Divested of the greatest Ornament of the Crown, the *Affection of the People*? Unless you will say, that *Walpole, Townshend* and the rest of that Set were in their Hearts for the *PRETENDER*, and resolved to make the King as unpopular as possible. If that be the Case they have acted like able Politicians, and have been as Successful as heart could wish.

If hitherto I may seem to have learned to what is called the Tory or Church-party, I have been led into that Manner of Reasoning from Undeniable Facts: Facts, which admit of no Gloss. And I dare say there is not one Man of Reason and Temper, be he of what side he will, provided he Wishes well to *England*, but will agree with me in the Main, that the Administration from the Hour of the King's Arrival here, to the times I now Write of, was too Partial and too Violent: and what hath since happened shews abundantly that the Court hath pursued

no Measures, but such as are and have been Ruinous to the *British* Constitution. The Proofs are beyond Number.

All Sparks of the Rebellion were extinguished towards the latter end of *February* or the beginning of *March* 1716. The Impeachments ended with the Condemnation of the Earl of *Winton*. The turbulent Spirits of the Oppressed Party began to Subside, the Kingdom would soon have settled into a Calmness, which, if Cherished, might have suffered us to be a happy People. But to prevent this a new Inexhaustible Mine of Corruption was immediately Sprung. On the 10th of *April* his Grace of *Devonshire* offered to the House of Peers the famous Bill for enlarging the time for the Continuance of Parliaments; and for the Repeal of the *Triennial* Act. Every one immediately knew, from what Quarter this came. His Grace, though a Nobleman of a very antient Family, and of a great hereditary Estate, had given himself up to the Conduct of a Man, of a worse understanding than himself, and was *Townshend's* Tool in this, as he had been formerly led by others into many things Inconsistent with Honour and his own dignity; his Father was a Man of Sense and Spirit, and would have disdained to have been the Instrument of any Minister or even King, to Present to his Country so pernicious a Bill as that was. And his Son the present Duke, hath had ample reason to Repent of that and several other Steps, wherein he hath Swerved from his Fathers Principles, Conduct and Character.

This Bill, at the very naming of it, gave great Offence to all who Wished well to their Country, and dreaded the consequences of a *Long Pensionary* Parliament; many Noble Lords spoke warmly against it, and when it was carried by a Majority of Courtiers, the others entered a Protest with Reasons against it. Those Reasons are in print, and are clear demonstrations of the iniquity of that Bill; it was likewise strongly opposed in the House of Commons, where several of the Members spoke against it with great Warmth and Eloquence. The argument I therefore shall say little upon, only there is one thing, which I do not remember any of them to have taken notice of, and which yet may carry Weight with it. It is, that by the *Triennial* Act, if the King should dissolve a Parliament, and not call one within three Years, then in that case a Parliament might be assembled without the Power or even Consent of the Crown, and might sit a certain time. So that if the King, for the time being, should be misled by evil Counsellours, here redress of grievances might be had by Parliament within three Years: Whereas by the *Septennial* Bill, the King may dissolve his Parliament a Month after their meeting, and not call another for Seven Years; space sufficient for an arbitrary Prince, by the help of an Army and other honest means, to remove all Foot steps of our Liberties, and not
to

to leave the least signs by which Men might say, the *English* were once a *free People*.

It is true this hath not literally happened. But how soon this may be the case none can tell; for it is manifestly in the Power of the Crown, with the great Body of Forces now in Pay, to compass it. And that it was not done before this, was probably because the Parliament were so much at the disposal of the Court, that no *Army* could have *Enslaved* the Country more than that did. And that, absolute Slavery is not yet our fate, no thanks to those, who so long and so loudly clamoured against *Arbitrary Power, Tyranny and Slavery*. Those words were sunk into necessity to Enable the King to make *Alliances*—what, will you suspect his Majesty!—do you doubt the goodness of his intentions? Have you not a *wise and upright Ministry*?—If shame had not been filed with Justice, I should wonder how some Men living should dare to shew their Faces, after all they have said against an *Arbitrary Government*, and all which they have done to Establish one.

Some of them were, I believe, imposed upon; and some had deep Apprehensions of another Evil: And most of these have since fruitlessly endeavoured to repair the Breaches made in our Constitution, by their Assistance. Men of Honour and Virtue are not ashamed of past Errors. Narrow Souls think it a Weakness to own they once have been in the wrong. And perhaps this may be one Reason, why the present Court have always gone on in the same Track, in which they first set out.

On *May* the 7th (some days less than a Month from it's first Appearance) did the King give his Royal Assent to the *Septennial Bill*. Such quick dispatch was given to that destructive Work. On the same day he pass'd an Act of *Attainder*, against Several Lords, and an Act of *Indemnity*, to all who had acted Wickedly or unjustly in his Majesty's behalf. This was called an Act to *Indemnify all Persons, who have acted in defence of his Majesty, &c.* the same day or soon after pass'd the Act to *Naturalize* *Madam-moselle Schulemberg*, the present Dutches of *Kendal*.

Upon the 26th of *June* following pass'd another Act, which although it then seem'd of no great consequence; was however an ill Precedent and hath proved in the highest manner detrimental to the Nation. It was entitl'd an Act to *Repeal part of the Act for the Limitation of the Crown, and better securing the Rights and Liberties of the Publick*. This Act of *Limitation* provided that no Person who should come to the Possession of the Crown should go out of the Dominions of England, Scotland or Ireland without consent of Parliament. The reasons of that part of the Act of *Limitation* were obvious, lest the King, *pro tempore*, by visiting or residing long in his Foreign Dominions might continue estranged from the People of England. Besides Voyages of that kind might give opportunities for *Leagues and Alliances* prejudi-

cial to the *English* interest, which could not be so privately Negotiated here as at *Hannover*. And again those Voyages would afford his *German* followers the means to Transport to their own Country the Wealth, they might Collect here.

But all these and many more good Reasons notwithstanding, this Restriction was taken off, and now the King may go back and forward as often as he thinks fit: Whereby his old Counsellors at *Hannover* may turn his Heart more and more against his new Subjects; new Leagues may be entered into to our Prejudice, either for transporting *Foreign Forces* hither, or involving us in *Foreign Wars* against our Interest; and which is almost as bad as all the rest, here is such a constant drain upon us of our *Current Specie*, that in a few Years, we may have none, or next to none, left in the Kingdom.

Perhaps you may Urge, that all these are only Air conjectures, invidious suppositions, without grounds or probability. Yet examine them and you will find them all but too true. His Majesty hath gone thrice to *Hannover* since he came here. The first time, he staid above seven Months, pleased to shew himself to his Countrymen in his new State and Grandeur: And perhaps from the Absolute State of Servitude, which they are in towards him, contracting a full dislike against all others of his Subjects who should refuse to be as abject Slaves as they. Here his Majesty might project new Palaces of his own contriving, not such mean ones as *Windsor*, which he hath but once seen and then in a foggy day. Here his *Hannoverians* had him wholly to themselves, and could inspire him with what Jealousies they pleased against the *English*, and with what notions of Government they should think would suit his and their aims the best. At least if this hath not been so: If they did not pursue their own Interest, and endeavour to keep him steady to them; if his Majesty hath not acted, and thought naturally in giving his own Countrymen the Preference in his Affections, and confidence; and if seven Months spent in Jollity and at ease were not sufficient to Erase out of his mind the small Portion of regard and Indulgence, he might possibly have contracted for the *English* Nation; if this hath not been the Case, then it must be owned to be a very surprizing Event, and what was by no means to be foreseen by those, who Repealed that part of the *Limitation Act*. And his Majesty's future Actions are the best Test whether things fell out so or not.

That which is undeniable is, that it was in this first Journey to *Hannover*, that the League was formed, which afterwards engaged *England* in a War with *Spain*. The influence of the *German* Councillors together with the Management of *L'abbé du Bois* brought this about, and this Mr. Craggs in his Letter to Mr. *Monteleone* owns, wherein he acquaints his Excellency, that the King was obliged by Treaties
of

of *Guarantee* the Neutrality of *Italy*. The Treaties he refers to, where those of the *Triple* and *Quadruple Alliance*, which involved the Nation in an expensive War, and which were finished or projected during his Majesty's stay at *Hannover*.

I remember my Lord *Stanhope* in order to Justifie those Treaties urged in the House of Lords, that we were obliged by the Treaty of *Utrecht* to *Guarantee* the Neutrality of *Italy*; but this was a miserable evasion; for every one knew that obligation Subsisted but only, *flagrante bello*, during the War between the *Emperor* and *France*, which was at an End several Years before this new Engagement. This was one part of the fruit we reaped from the King's Journey.

And as for the Opportunities such Journies afforded his followers to convey away the Wealth and *Specie* of the Kingdom, we have felt that ill Consequence, but too Sensibly. In the first Journey all the Money, Plate and Jewells which had been got for *Titles*, *Garters*, *Places* and *Grants* were packed up and carried off. Some *great Ladies*, who came here with Wooden-Shoes went away with Chests full of Gold and Silver: All their Utensils for the Chamber, Table, nay the Kitchens were massy Plate, and particular directions given the Gold and Silver Smiths to make every thing as thick and heavy as possible; and least this might be divulged, there was a particular Order, that no Custom-House Officers or proper Searchers should go on board such Ships as were loaded with the Pillage of the three Kingdoms. The Locusts which the *East-Wind* brought into *Egypt* did great Mischief, but they carried nothing away but their Carcasses and those the *Egyptians* had the pleasure to see drowned by a strong *West-Wind*. But our Locust are greivous not only in their Vilits but at their departure, they come Empty and go away loaded.

From that first Journey and their perpetual transporting vast Sums in Crowns and Half-Crowns ensued that scarcity of Silver about three Years ago, that was thought a matter fit for the Lords to enquire into; though the Credit of the Persons concerned was too great, to permit either a discovery or remedy.

But all this, as great and intollerable as it was, is nothing to the Second Plunder of the Nation in Summer 1720. When the King himself sold out a vast deal of *South-Sea-Stock* and Subscriptions at 800 and 900 *per Cent*, and when that prodigious deal of fictitious Stock was pretended to be sold, we all know the greater, much the greater part of those Sums was paid to the King, the Dutchess of *Kendal*, Madam *Kilmanseick* now Countess of *Leinster* and the rest of the *Hannoverian* Favourites, and it was all likewise Spirited away to *Hannover*, of which the proofs are plain. For, besides what was carried away in *Specie*, so much was remitted by Bills that instantly upon the Kings

Departure, the Exchange to *Holland* fell very much against us, and could never afterwards be got up before the fatal *Catastrophe* and Crack of the *South-Sea*. Thus *Hannover*, which is the Barrenest part of *Germany* is the Gulph of *England*, and hath swallowed up the Wealth of our trading Merchants and of thousands of Honourable Families, as well as the Bread and means of Subsistence of numberless Orphans and Widows, and this hath been another effect of the above mentioned Repeal.

For this, however, there was the pretence of an Act of Parliament. But the Act of *Limitation* hath been broke through in a very Essential point, without any pretence of a Repeal. By that Act it is expressly provided, that *Great Britain* shall not Engage in any War upon the account of the King's Foreign Dominions. This part of the Act is still in force, yet we have been involved in three Wars destructive to the Trade and Interest of the Kingdom, in order to acquire to the King *Bremen* and *Verden*, which of right belong to *Sweden*; and we have done this not only contrary to our own Act of *Limitation* but to our faith and Treaties.

By the Treaty of *Westphalia* and also that of *Travendbal*, whereof the King of *England* is Guarantee, *Bremen* and *Verden* was to be secured to the Crown of *Sweden*, the Elector of *Brunswick*, likewise, is Guarantee of this Article of that Treaty; yet notwithstanding his Majesty was thus in a double capacity Guarantee of the possession of those Provinces to the Crown of *Sweden*, he thought fit to Purchase them from the King of *Denmark*, whilst the King of *Sweden* was Struggling with an Alliance against him, and from whom those Provinces has been Seized by the King of *Denmark* in a Piratical manner. Thus that unfortunate but brave Prince was used by his Ally and Guarantee, and by this have we been forced into three successive Wars.

By Agreement with the Czar of *Muscovy*, in consideration of the Sale of *Bremen* and *Verden* to the Elector of *Brunswick*, his Majesty King *George* promised to join his Fleet to the *Danish* and *Russian* Fleets to Act against *Sweden*. *Bremen* and *Verden* were put into his Possession the 17th of *October* 1715, and next Year our Fleet was sent into the *Baltick*, and actually did Assist the *Danes* and *Russians*, because the King of *Sweden* would not Consent to that unjust Seizure of part of his Dominions. At length it came to a Prohibition of Trade, and an open Rupture between us and *Sweden*. But if the King of *Sweden* would have consented to the dismembring of his Dominions, King *George* professed to Join him against the Czar; although by the Czar's influence over the King of *Denmark*, those Provinces were first put into his Majesty's Possession.

The Honesty of the *German Chancery* is herein fully exemplified. To get *Bremen* and *Verden* for King *George*, *England* must Join with the Czar against *Sweden*; to secure that Acquisition

sition to King *George*, *England* must Join with *Sweden* against the *Czar*. But their assurance exceeded even their Knavery. They undertook peremptorily that *England* should do this, and their Presumption came to that Height, that Baron *Bothmar's* Nephew affronted Sir *John Norris* at *Copenhagen*, because Sir *John* did not think it safe to Receive his Orders from so inconsiderable a *German Commis.*

The Investiture of those Provinces from the Emperor was also necessary to Secure his Majesty's new Purchases. In order to Procure that Investiture, and for some other good *German* Reasons, we became his Allies against *Spain*. We treacherously fell upon the *Spanish* Fleet, and afterwards our Men of War attended like so many Transports Vessels to carry the Emperor's Forces back and forwards from *Naples* to *Sicily*; and in all this Disgraceful *Mediterranean* Expedition, our Seamen were obliged to do the Drudgery of Galley-Slaves. To so unworthy an Office was the Fleet of *England* exposed, and to this Sir *George Byng* submitted with that low Tractableness, which he hath always Observed towards the Dictates of Ministers; and which he ever will Observe where there is any thing to be gained by it.

Lastly, To procure the Present King of *Sweden's* consent to a Cession of *Bremen* and *Verden* to his Majesty King *George*, we have actually joined the *Swedes* against the *Czar's* Fleet. Thus *Bremen* and *Verden* hath occasioned to us Three Wars, one in Conjunction with the *Czar* and King of *Denmark* against *Sweden*; another against *Spain* by our being Allies to the Emperor, or rather Principals in the War: and a Third, wherein we have joined with *Sweden* against the *Czar*. The Charge of the Navy alone amounted to above three Millions Sterling. Besides a Debt of 900,000 *l.* over and above what was allowed for that Service by Parliament. As to the Innumerable Losses to the Nation, from the Interruption of Trade and Commerce, and other ill Consequences, those may be easier imagined than computed.

With all which the Parliament hath complied, and Sat down Contented, because King *George* is a good King; because the Ministry are *Uncorrupt*, because the *Publick* was too *Rich*; and because the Houses of *Lords* and *Commons* were equally filled with Men of Vertue, Honour and Concern for their Country.

When this matter of late came into the House of Peers, and several of them Demanded as they had a Right to it, to have Lord *Carteret's* and Sir *John Norris's* Instructions laid before them, it was peremptorily denied by the Court. And the Reason given was, because the Peace was Concluded. And when they Demanded to see the Papers relating to the *Spanish* War, that was also Refused, because it was *pendente negotio* and that the Peace was not made. But the true reason was, lest the manifest Breach of the *Limitation* Act should regularly appear, and

and thereby the Practices of the *English* Ministry, and *German* Chancery be exposed to Censure. The *German* Ministry are without doubt much the more excusable, since they have acted for the Interest of their Country. But the *English* to the Prejudice and Ruine of theirs. And his Majesty in his whole Transaction hath acted a natural Part : For though he be King of *England*, *Hannover* is the place of his Birth and Education.

I hope this digression about *Bremen* and *Verden* may not seem Impertinent to my Purpose. I was willing to give the Reader at once a clear View of that Affair which hath cost *England* so much, and hath been the Spring of so many extraordinary Measures. It is now high time to return to his Majesty's Preparations to visit his Foreign Dominions in 1716.

That Mademoiselle *Schullenbourg* might shine in *Hannover* with new Honours, as well as Wealth and Diamonds, his Majesty was pleased to Create her a *Baroness*, *Countess*, *Marchioness* and *Dutcheß*, and because he was extremely press'd by some of the *English* Ministers, to make the Prince Regent in his Absence, that point with Difficulty was resolved upon. But they determined to restrain his Royal Highness by Instructions which limited the Power of his Place very much, or rather took it quite away.

The Army was put under a new Establishment of General Officers, out of which his Grace the Duke of *Argyle* was not only left, but he and his Brother the Earl of *Isle* were removed from all their Employments. What their faults might be, was not said, but it was an odd turn to see his Grace, who really had saved *Scotland*, and perhaps *England* to the *Illustrious House*, Dismissed from all Places of Trust, and, which was worse, of Profit, within half a Year or something more after he had performed those Signal Services. Certainly his Grace hath shewn himself to be of a very Meek, Charitable and Christian Temper, in afterwards submitting to Accept of the Place of *Steward* of the *Household*, and of a trifling *Rod*, instead of a *Generals Battoon* ; whilst his Rival *Cadogan* now struts at the Head of the Army, and Excuseth himself for Conversing with his Grace of *Argyle*, by saying, Mr. *Walpole* had Prevailed upon him to do it.

The King came to the House of Peers, and according to his custom delivered his Speech to the Lord Chancellor to be Read to both Houses. Here in his Majesty Commends the Parliament for their *Wholesome* and *necessary Laws* and for their *Zeal* for the *prosperity of their Country*. How *wholesome* those *Laws* were, and how *Zealous* they have been for the *prosperity of their Country*, appears abundantly from the many invasions of our Liberties, and the present miserable Condition to which the Nation is reduced. His Majesty proceeds to applaud his own Conduct, especially for the *Gentle methods agreeable to his Inclinations*. It is true some of the Guilty were by short Repreives kept Living : But I appeal

appeal to all Men whether that were not a sort of Lingring Death, were there five Men of the whole Number frankly Pardoned? No, not three I believe. Nay his Majesty as he was Leaving *England*, and going to take Water at *White-Hall* meet a parcel of those Prisoners manacled and Chained passing to *Westminster* to be Condemned. Yet no Pardon appeared. No signs of Grace, even when he had so fair an opportunity to have left behind him a marke of Tenderneſs of his People: And it was ever the Practice until his Majesty's time for a King of *England* to Pardon any Criminals who should caſually fall in his way: But this is not the only particular, wherein his Majesty hath been perſwaded to think fit to deſcend from the Character of a King of *England*.

The Speech further ſaith, he endeavoured rather to Reclaim Men then to make Examples, and Appeals to his numerous Inſtances of Mercy; would not one think, that the Perſon who drew this Speech, had a mind to write a Satyr in the ſtrongeſt Irony, Words could put it? And if it was translated into *High-Dutch* for his Majesty to Read, would not one conclude he had been kept locked up from Mankind for the laſt ſix Months, otherwiſe he would not gravely try to put ſuch an Impoſition upon the underſtandings of the World? The Speech goes on in the accuſtomed ſtrain of Bitterneſs againſt a *Faction*, *Reſtleſs* and *Unwearied in their Endeavours to Subvert the Religion, Laws and Liberties of their Country*; for, ſo they are here painted. Was not this Compliment a very likely way to reclaim the *Faction*? His Majesty was now about to leave the Kingdom, and leſt the World ſhould imagine he had abated of the Reſentments he brought hither, he gives this ſting at parting. This is one of his Demonstrations of his *deſire off reclaiming*. Surely to give ill Words and call hard Names is not the moſt natural way to pacify a *Fooliſh or Mad People*, as he calls them; nor is it the Language the moſt Decent for a Prince to ſpeak in his Cloſet, and it is ſtill leſs Decent from the Throne. But to make amends for all, he informs us, he hath *Conſtituted his beloved Son the Prince of Wales, Guardian of the Realm in his abſence*. Which was perhaps, the only Act of his Reign, that gave himſelf and the Nation equal Satisfaction. Soon after this his Majesty embarked for *Holland*, without leaving behind him any extraordinary ſign of his Unwillingneſs to part from a Nation, which had given him every thing he was pleaſed to aſk.

Having attended his Majesty from his firſt Arrival here, to the time of his firſt Expedition to *Hannover*, I think this may give us a full Specimen of what ſort of Government we are fallen under. The Sequel of the Adminiſtration will deſerve a Second, and perhaps a Third Part. In the meane time let us conſider what is our Caſe at Preſent.

Among

Among Foreigners we are generally despised; that is, the Nation is in Contempt whilst the Government is Formidable. Our Court by keeping the Ministers of Foreign Princes, and likewise the Parliament at home in Pay, and a standing Army to Support their Oppressions upon the People, carry the face of Power: But the Nation suffers in Credit for enduring this; for permitting our natural Strength and Wealth to be converted to ends Prejudicial to our Interest; and for our being represented Abroad by little Foreign Fellows, picked out of Dirt and Obscurity to be Residents and Ministers for *England*. *Schaub*, first at *Madrid*, now at *Paris*, *St. Saphorin* at *Vienna*, *D'ayrolles* in *Holland* are the Chief, nay only Persons entrusted to take care of the *English* Interest: How well they are likely to intend that Matter is not hard to Judge. The former of these, who is a *Swiss*, was exceedingly Impertinent to our Ambassador *Sir Robert Sutton* and a sort of Spy upon him, having been solely entrusted with the Secret of the Court. Although *Sir Robert*; for reasons best known to himself, hath coolly put up the Affront, and condescended to endeavour to Serve in another Capacity. In short all the three are Slaves to the *Germans*, and to be Purchased by a few Livres ready Mony, which until they dropt into those high Posts, was a novelty to them, as it had been to all their Fore-Fathers.

It is likewise Matter of some Astonishment, and of great Ridicule of our Nation, that we pretend to talk of our Liberties, whilst we tamely and hourly suffer one part or other of our Constitution to be paired off, to Compliment *one*, whom we called in to Preserve it, or, which is worse, to Compliment the Betrayers of the King, and the real Enemies of our Country.

With relation to our Domestick Affairs, things are in great Confusion. The Church-Establishment hath been apparently struck at and Undermined. That was thought of such little Moment at Court, that a silly dull Discourse of *Whodly* preach'd in the yearning of his Bowels towards Court-favour, induced the Court to Abolish Convocations. Not that there was any thing skillful in that Sermon, or that the Man was of any real Weight or Consequence. So far from that, they Despised him, when they made him a Bishop; and they made him a Bishop, Supported, and since Promoted him, chiefly to Spight those, who Wish well to the Church: and for one other Prevalent Motive, which is, to destroy the Church by the Clergy; by promoting to the chief Preferments the most Ignorant and Offensive of their Order: and it can never be denied, but they have laid their Scheme well and hitherto have executed it with great Success. Witness *Talbot*, *Gibson*, *Blackbourn*, with many others.

Besides,

Besides, they have got a new Maxim for the better Discipline of Ecclesiasticks, and more servile obedience of the Reverend Bench. They are resolved to give all the good Prebends to the Bishops in *Commendam*, which is a new way to make them entire Pensioners of the Court, and to Impoverish the Inferior Clergy, who, it hath been found, have been honest Men than their Betters; and consequently must be kept low in their Purse and Spirits.

The Repeal of the *Occasional-Conformity* and *Schism-Acts*, was an Instance of their Complaisance to the Dissenters, and how little the Interest of the Church was to come into Competition with that of it's avowed Enemies. Those Acts, it was pretended, encroached too far upon Liberty of Conscience. But pray observe; the Court at the same time have taken away Liberty of Conscience to the Episcopal Party in *Scotland*, by repealing the relief granted in the latter end of the *Queen's* Reign, to the persecuted Episcopal Clergy in that Kingdom. So that Liberty of Conscience is a desirable thing in *England*; but, under the *Kirk of Scotland* it is an Abomination, and a discouragement to King *George's* best Friends. This is the Fact in their own way of stating it: But in it's full light it would appear, not only an unjust partiality towards the Dissenters; but an open Violation of the Terms, by which his Majesty enjoys his Crown.

The Mismanagement of the State is, I doubt not, obvious to most Men, not excepting even the Managers themselves: For, I think, they do not pretend seriously, unless in a Speech from the Throne, to Justifie their proceedings. And the thing is too apparent. The Publick Money hath been Squandered away, as if on purpose to Beggar us. Since his Majesty's Accession we have added about ten Millions to the Publick Debts; near four of which have, been for the expences of the Navy, beyond the necessary charges thereof; and we have already seen upon what ruinous projects our Fleets have been employed. 900,000*l.* or thereabouts was a Debt which was run into without the least previous notice given to either House; and if this be not levying Money upon the Subject, without consent of Parliament, I know not what is. The greater part of this, and the other three Millions was contracted for the *Northren War*, subsequent to the King's demand of 250,000*l.* in an Unparliamentary manner, which he promised should prevent all future *Apprehensions* from that Quarter. But notwithstanding his promise and that what he asked was granted, yet his and the Ministry's *Apprehensions* still continued, new Squadrons were yearly fitted out, and our Debts and Expences have multiplied beyond all Bounds.

The Commissioners for stating the Debts of the Army have ran them up to 2,100,000*l.* of which 1200,000*l.* hath been certified to Foreigners upon the slightest pretences, and for

which, it is more than conjectured, the *Foreign Agents*, who belong to the Court, have had large Præmiums. Otherwise there can be no method of accounting for it, how such unreasonable demands upon us came to be received: And the less, because it had been complained of by the Court, that their Enemies had made the Estimate so high as 400,000*l.* on purpose to reflect on their Conduct. So, here is 1700,000*l.* more in one lump, than they thought could possibly have been demanded on the score of the Army-Debts. And it is but Charitable to think, all this would not have been allowed for nothing.

Pensions have been Multiplied and Salaries augmented in a most lavish manner. 336*l.* 2*s.* 6*d.* was thought by Queen *Elizabeth* an ample Pension for a Duke of *Brunswick*. But now there is scarce a Pimp about Court, but hath four times that Sum. Nay Pensions are annexed to the most gainful Posts. The present *Lord Chancellor* would not accept the great Seal without a Pension of 5000*l.* the *Speaker* of the late House of Commons, *Mr. Compton*, had one or two beneficial Employments in Commendam, besides the Advantages of the Chair, which no one ever understood, or studied to make so much of, as he. * Nay *Lechmere* insisted upon a Pension of 1500*l.* to be added to the Salary of *Chancellor* of the *Duchy of Lancaster*, which was 1500*l.* more, and, by dint of Perseverance and valuing his own Abilities, obtained both that and the Dutchy, for Life. Most of the Salaries of the other great Officers have been proportionably increased. Those I have named being some of the least worthless of the Court, are sufficient to give an Idea how the publick Treasure hath been scattered and dissipated.

If this Profusion had been confined only to Natives, there would have been still left us this comfort, that though the publick Money were scandalously misapplied, yet it would remain and circulate among our selves. But by the Exorbitant Allowances to Foreigners, vast Sums are annihilated, so far as relates to us: They are transported to *Hannover*. Whence *vestigia nulla Retrorsum*. No signs of a return of any thing from those bleak Realms, but of such, who come to Plunder us again.

And because the Spoils of *England* cannot gorge them sufficiently, the exhausted Kingdom of *Ireland* must have it's share of the Burthen. The Dutches of *Kendal* hath 3000*l.* a Year upon the *Irish* Establishment: Baron *Berensdorf* 2500*l.* *Madam Kilmanseick*, now Countess of *Leinster*, 1500*l.* and all this over and above what they fleece *England* of; where *Kilmanseick* hath 5000*l.* a Year and the Dutches, I suppose, as much as she will modestly please to ask.

As to the Debts upon the *Civil-List* no one need be at a loss to account for them, who considers the Pensions above mentioned,

mentioned, the great number of Members of both Houses of Parliament retained in Fee, the Disbursements for Corruptions of all kinds, and the heavy load the *Germans* are upon it. It was proposed indeed to pay off those Debts by Parliament; which was in effect a project for the Courtiers to pay themselves. But the remedy became much worse than the disease. 600,000*l.* was engaged to be paid, towards the Discharge of those Incumbrances, by two Bubbles called *Assurances*, which was a loss to the Nation of *Six-Millions* by the most Moderate Computation, and occasioned the Ruin of many thousands of Families. Those *Assurances*, being but Bubbles, could Pay, and that not honestly neither, but one moiety and the other was remitted to them on the Score of their inability to Pay a Shilling of it. To supply this Deficiency, Application was again made to the *Liberal House of Commons*, and instead of 300,000*l.* which remained to be paid to Discharge the 600,000*l.* Debt, 500,000*l.* was now granted, according to the modesty of the askers: And this, just at the time of the universal Destruction brought by the fall of *South-Sea* upon all ranks of Men, the Court and the Directors, and perhaps a few other Sharpers excepted. Yet notwithstanding all this I am credibly informed the Civil-List is again in Debt between three and 400,000*l.*

What can any Man say in excuse for all this? Let the most Impudent Advocate for Corruption offer any thing, even Sophistry, to Palliate these Enormities and we shall be Silent. I believe even *Robin Walpole* will scarce gravely attempt an Apology. There was a time, when the good Man was squeamish and loudly proclaimed in the House of Commons, that he might still have kept his Employments, if he would have concurred in the Measures of the Court. He continued a Country-Gentleman, as he stiled himself, for sometime, but still looked a Squint after the *Flesh-Pots of Egypt*. So, he voted on the one Hand for a Standing Army, for Martial Law, and to send Mr. *Shippen* to the Tower for Speaking with that Freedom that became an honest *English-man*; and on the other he appeared strenuously against *Cadogan* for a Poor Piece of Plunder, not more than 12000*l.* but *Robin's Patriotship* was but Short-Lived: It was a part not natural to him: His Price was offered him at last, and now he very frankly confesseth, *quand on est a la grande messe, on y est*: Or which is much the same in *English*, *over Shoes over Boots*.

It is to be observed, I have not touched upon the increase of the Allowance to the Privy-Purse. Though 50000*l.* a Year regularly exported out of the Kingdom is a drain, which, how Insensible soever now it be, the Nation may one day Feel in Earnest. Not that I Grudge this. I only wish it may not be a bribe from *Walpole* to carry something Worse.

Who can mention the Mismanagements of the present Reign, without thinking of the *South-Sea* Project? That black Affair can never be removed from the innermost Chambers of the Court. It is said, that Whigs and Tories and all Parties were engaged in it, and this is true; but all were not Guilty of the Foulness of it. Most of them were drawn in and inveigled from a blind Perswasion of the integrity of this or that Man, this *Minister* or that *Director*; and the People, the multitude were the Dupes. The Court at St. James's and that at Mr. *Knights* went amicably Hand in Hand. They sold out, Realized, Buried or Transported the Fortunes of Innumerable Families: And it is no secret who were the Gainers. For the known Fact is, both *Whigs* and *Tories* were mingled in the Game, and were both treated alike, whilst the Court and the *Directors*, with *Aislabbie*, Swept the Board.

Yet our Ruine was not the most provoking Circumstance of our Case. Justice against the Felons was denied us. The Court with it's whole Possé interposed, first in behalf of *Charles Stanhope*, whose guilt was flagrant, next of Lord *Sunderland*, First Minister, and which was worse, even *Aislabbie* escaped with only a gentle mulct and a short Imprisonment, and the reason given for this tenderness towards the most hardened Offender was, lest he should tell tales, which, considering how open his threats were, was the greatest Affront to the Majesty of the King that could be offered, except that other of the King's excusing himself to the City of *London*. For, both these Facts, the Screening *Aislabbie*, lest he should tell, and the Profession of his Majesty's Innocence tended only to Convince Mankind, that he was deeper in the Business than could in decency be imagined.

After this, *Knight's* Escape and the great Indulgence to the Directors may be the more easily swallowed. So much appeared and hath been done, that People are at an end of their wondering and can conceive nothing so bad, but what may be very Consistent with the rest of the Conduct of the Court. Upon all these Occasions Mr. *Walpole* shone in his proper Sphere; the Refuge of the distressed: The avowed Champion of Villainy. And whatever Men may say of him, surely no one, but himself, could have been so perfectly adapted to the Work he undertook. The several steps he hath since taken in the *Ingratment*, and other Particulars rather continue his Character than give it any new Light.

But the worst part of the whole was the behaviour of the Royal Family. Whilst *South-Sea* was at the height, they made their Markets. The *Caravan*, that went with the King, Transported vast Quantities of our Specie, and occasioned the fall of Exchange from *Holland* before taken notice of. The Prince and Princess descended to desire Subscriptions in all Bubbles,

Copper

Copper Lustre, and I know not what, and boasted of their Gains. Their Gains! From whom? From *Poor Widows*, decayed *House-keepers*, *Tradesmen* and *Young Gentlemen* of small Fortunes: For, these were the People most Injured by this Species of Gaming. Was this becoming the Expectants of the Crown? Or was it proper for them to jest on the Misfortunes of some of the Adventurers? But this is a disagreeable Subject, that can be of use only to the Persons, who probably would be most offended at it.

When the Stock began to Decline by the Knavery of the Directors, and the vast Sums Exported to *Hannover*, all Endeavours were used by the late Secretary Mr. *Craggs* to Prevail with his Majesty to come over to *England*, to give new Life to Credit, by meeting of the Parliament, or other Methods. He wrote Letter upon Letter to that Effect; complained vehemently of the Delays; but all to no purpose. His Majesty was engaged in Building a Magnificent Palace at *Herenhausen*, I think, or near it, and either was kept Ignorant of our situation or did not think fit to come, until the time he first prefixed to move: And then the Evil here was gon too far, to Admit of any Remedy.

His Majesty at length Arrived to be witness of the greatest Scene of Misery we have ever seen, and which this Nation was brought into by his Ministers, and Advisers; and though the Outcries of the undone Sufferers might have reached his Ears in his most intrenched Cabinet, yet there seemed to be no more notice taken of it than what he mentioned in his Apology, which, I am sorry to say, few People believed, and all Men pitied him for making it. By this time the Dutches of *Kendal* was discovered to have had a large Share in the Publick Plunder, and her Name was then on the List of those, who had the greatest part of the *Fictitious Stock*; yet she almost affected, to appear more Richly adorned than ordinary, and displayed that goodly Person of hers, bedecked all over with Jewels and Diamonds, every one of which cost perhaps the Ruine of some Innocent Family. Inshort to such a pitch were things arrived, that it is hard to say, which was the greater, the Tameness and Passive Spirit of the *English* or the Indiscretion, Assurance, and Rapaciousness of the *Germans*.

What hereafter followed might deserve a history a part. Every Hour almost hath been Productive of some new attack upon our Constitution, of new Oppressions, new Acts of perfidy. The latest in my Memory is the *Screening* Baron *Page*; which was one of the weakest things ever committed by the Court, and only to be excused by the necessity, they have brought upon themselves to Protect all Instruments of Corruption; because indeed that is the Support of their own Unnatural Power. otherwise they would have given up *Page*, as a Fool, tho' they might like him, for his other Qualification. But in defiance of shame
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and Sun-shine they brought him off. So the Lives and Fortunes of the People of *England* are still at his Mercy: He is still a Judge, an Interpreter of the Law, and perhaps the danger is the less, because according to the course things are likely to take, the *Will* of the Ministry is soon to be our only *Law*: And then it will avail little whether such upright Persons, as Baron *Page*, be our Judges or not.

Thus, Gentlemen, you have had an Imperfect View of a long Train of Abuses, Oppressions, Injustice, Cruelties, and Arbitrary Proceedings. To these you have been Exposed these many Years, and the Question now is, whether, *whether you will wear your Chains any longer.*

You have seen a *Standing Army* and *Martial Law* Established; your *Liberties* overthrown; your *Constitution* in Church and State, in many Essential Points Subverted; and your Fortunes Squandered away, to Acquire Dominions in *Germany* to be annexed to *Hannover*, and to Enrich *Foreign Minions*, who are now preparing to Transport another Cargo of *Bullion* out of the Kingdom; and who are every day contriving to send it over, as appears by the Entries at the *Custom-House* of Gold and Silver for *Holland*, and by the immense quantity of Plate, made for *Traveling Equipage*, as it is called.

In this Situation what Redress is left you? Whence can you hope for a Remedy? The House of *Lords* is Composed of Abandoned Creatures of the Court. The *Bishops* and *Dignitaries* of the Church are the willing *Stepping-Stones* of the *Ministers* in all their *Dirty-Work*. And Bribery, Power, and all the other *Engines* of the Court are play'd off, to rake together just such another body of Profligate Tools, as the late *House* of *Commons*. This the Court do not Scruple to own: and the Modest Mr. *Compton*, in his departing Speech to the King, most devoutly pray'd for such another *House* of *Commons*; in which I think him much in the right, and do believe him to be very Sincere, because none, but such another *House* of *Commons*, would Choose such another *Speaker*. His Speech is published, and is the lowest and most insipid Performance I have yet read, except a fulsome Panegyrick, upon the *South-Sea-Project*, which he uttered at the close of that memorable Session, wherein the destruction of Publick Credit was devised and effected. I hope to see that Speech also Printed in due time, as a further Specimen of his Eloquence and integrity. For the present I leave him in the full possession of the honour of those two pieces, and of his perfidious Conduct towards all Parties, and (in his own manner of concluding) may he enjoy it, *till time shall be no more!*

From the Compassion of the King for his Subjects, we might perhaps have hoped for Relief. But his Majesty hath been pleased to leave us Desperate on that side too. He hath publickly espoused and extolled the Betrayers of him, and of their Na-
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tive Country : and hath made a Speech, which is no less than a Declaration of War against his People, supposing that *People* Implies Nineteen Parts in Twenty of the Inhabitants of this Kingdom.

In this Speech his Majesty compliments the *Lords and Commons*, for what they have done *this last Session*, for the *Ease and Advantage* of his *People*—and for the *many and great Encouragements* they have given to our *Trade and Manufactures*—is not this strange Language at this time? Could one have expected it? *Ease and Advantages* and *Encouragements*—whilst we are smarting with the Wounds they gave us; whilst we labour with all the Disadvantages that ever a *People* groaned under; whilst we are beggared and have little or nothing to Trade with. What shall we say to such Impositions, but that, we are fallen into the lowest Ebb in their Opinion, and that the Ministry think, we have borne their Tyranny so long, we can now be paid with their Nonsense.

The next thing the King takes notice of, is of the *Commons* Raising more Money, which he is pleased to call a *further Proof* of their regard for the *Publick*. What—*Walpole* and *Minshul* and *Compton* Publick-Spirited Gentlemen? Yet, they have Raised more Money for the King by Taxing the *People*. At this rate they have shewn more regard for the *Publick*, than the *Publick* is willing to thank them for; and if the *Publick* were to be polled, and the Votes taken, I believe there are 99 in a 100, who would Vote for giving more substantial Rewards than thanks to these good Patriots.

I cannot, saith the King, in Justice part with this *Parliament* without returning my sincerest Thanks for your steady Adherence to my Person. Yes; They have Adhered to his Person as *Leeches* and *Bugs*; and whenever they grow full, or cease to get enough or see better Food, they will fall off or run away, and then, and then only will they deserve his Thanks.

But they have Adhered likewise to the Interest of the *Protestant Cause*. Was it for the Interest of the *Protestant Cause* to Divest the late King of *Sweden* of his Dominions in *Germany*? To enable the *Regent* to suppress the growing Reformation in *France*? To leave the reformed *Palatines* to the fury of a Bigotted Prince? To maintain or permit a *Papish* College in *Hannover*? And to extend the Power of the House of *Austria*, the Ancient and perpetual Enemy to the Reformation?

The Speech proceeds—the *Enemies* of our happy Constitution have given the most Honourable Testimony to your Behaviour, by their Implacable Malice against you—they are at this Juncture reviving the same Wicked arts of Calumny and Defamation—I should be glad to know who these *Enemies* are—why! They are those, who are recommending themselves to the Favour and good Opinion of my *People*.

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That is, all those are *Enemies of our happy Constitution*, who are in the *Favour and good Opinion of the People*. And of this the King is, no doubt, the best Judge; because he knows, better than our selves, when we are Easy and Happy. We are so now, he tells us; and if we will not believe it, then we are *Enemies of our happy Constitution*. I am really Sick of the Bitterness that reigns throughout this last Speech, as much as in the first his Majesty ever delivered from the Throne. There is a Venemous Spirit in it: It is a stupid Invective against the People of *England*, because they do not like the last *Parliament*, and are not fond of the Misery which *that* hath entailed upon us. This is surely very hard: that we shall not be allowed to feel for ourselves, but that whether we will or not, we must approve of the Vilest Set of Men that ever sat in a Parliament, or Governed a Nation. If we are permitted to think and Speak for our selves, we unanimously cry out that the last Parliament was Execrable.

But for our great Comfort. The King saith, *I am firmly determined to Continue to Countenance such as have Manifested their Zeal for the Present Establishment*—that is, he is *Determined to go on in the old Way*. No hope of changing our Condition: no Prospect of his Majesty's opening his Eyes, and of his becoming an equal parent of his People. We therefore see what we are to trust to. And that his Majesty may be enabled to do as he Threatens, he Proceeds to Recommend those to be Chosen in the next Parliament, who by their *Behaviour* hath hitherto Recommended themselves to him. Here the *Freedom of Elections* is invaded afresh. The first time it was done in a Proclamation, and now we have it in a Speech from the Throne.

So, the Sum total of the Speech is. The King Approves of the last Parliament; likes the same Men still; desires the Good-Will of all his Friends to be secured to them; and calls all Men, who are not of his Mind, *Enemies to our Religion and Liberties*.

From this exact State of our Affairs, all *Englishmen* may see, that the only Part they have to take, is to Act with Spirit and Vigor, and to Endeavour, as far as in them lies, to Rescue his Majesty from the Hands of a Ministry, who Betray the Nation, aim at *Arbitrary Power* and will certainly succeed in it, if not Prevented by a House of Commons, who will tell his Majesty Truth, and do their Country Justice.

If something of this kind be not done, there will be an end of our happy Constitution. The next Stroke will Decide it. It is folly now to talk of *Whig or Tory*. The Struggle is between the *Court and Country*, and if the Country-Party fail at this juncture, all we can say is that States, as well as Men, have their Natural Period, and the time of the Expiration of the Freedom of *England* is arrived.

Remember therefore, Gentlemen, the Difference at present is reduced to a narrow Compass.

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| The COURT | | The COUNTRY-PARTY |
| are for | | are for |
| Absolute Power, and Enslaving the | | The Liberties of England. |
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